POLITICAL · RESEARCH · ORGANIZATION AND DESIGN

PROD

CONTENTS

IN THE NEWS

UNIVERSITIES: Non-govt. receipts (philanthropy, fees, etc.) of higher education have recently surpassed govt. appropriations, according to the Council for Financial Aid to Education. In '43-'44 tax funds yielded 59% ($510 millions) of U.S. college and university income, in '57-'58, 49% ($1.75 billions). * * * A continuing study of phil. giving to 50 schools (J. P. Jones Co.) shows receipts of gifts up 13% from '57 to '58, while '57 was 18% over '56 (minus the extraordinary Ford grants). Of private schools Yale, Harvard each received over $30 millions, Chicago, NYU over $19, Penn, Columbia, Cornell, over $10. Tax-supported Calif. rec'd $10 millions. Sources for 5 large private schools: foundations (39%), individuals (34%), bequests (20%), corporations (7%). * * * Total private gifts for education fiscal '58 est. at $775 millions, inc. $218 for endowments. Office of Education says 85% of college and university endowment funds are held by 200 institutions, $4.8 billions at market value, $3.8 at cost. Earnings $186 millions in '58, all but 16% going to private institutions.

FOUNDATIONS: Carnegie '58 grants were $7 millions; total grants since establishment in 1911, $275.5 millions. * * * Lilly Endowment made grants of $4.1 millions in '58. * * * Ford granted $580M to assist foreign countries in teaching English, inc. $200M to *Modern Language Association* to est. a *Center for Applied Linguistics*, $100M to *Amer. Council of Learned Societies* for its *Linguistic Institute*. *ACLS* also rec'd from Ford $200M for grants to SS and humanities researchers in S and SE Asia. * * * Ford gave $200M to Columbia to enable Amer. grad students to study behind the iron curtain, $62M for public service fellowships at Harvard for govt. officials of Asia and Africa; also $200M for research on economics of education, to support studies and related activities of economists, other social scientists, educa. administrators. * * * Harvard and MIT have $675M from Ford for a joint center for urban studies, and 32 institutions under *University Presses Program* have $314M to support humanities and SS publications.

PROGRAMS: Claremont's *Institute for Studies in Federalism* consists of four professorships for the re-study and re-evaluation of Amer. pol. theory. * * * U. of Texas has founded the *Inst. of Public Affairs Reporting.*

SSRC: Received $600M from Rockefeller F. for research and grants-in-aid over next 3-4 yrs., $164M for Soviet and East Europe studies from Ford. On Carnegie funds a program of grants for research in national security policy emphasizing economic problems begins '59-'60. Illustrative topics: problems of taxation to support high-level defense budgets; theoretical and institutional studies of organization of military services and defense agencies. * * * SSRC Report for '57-'58 notes that the Council's research planning and appraisal committees (total of 33) are "to consider means of advancing research in limited areas of current significance . . . areas that are deemed ready for the kind of critical promotional efforts the Council can provide." Among '58-'59 committee chairmen: *Asian Studies,* L. Sharp (Cornell); *Auxiliary Research Awards,* F. Eggan (Chicago); *Comparative Politics,* G. Almond (Princeton); *Faculty Research Fellowships,* L. H. Lanier (U. of Ill.); *Grants-in-Aid,* R. A. Gordon (U. of Calif.); *Grants for Research on Govt. Affairs,* R. E. Cushman

KINDAIKA

The study of modernization in Japan has attracted concerted effort on the part of Japanese scholars, channeled in part through an inter-university, interdisciplinary seminar with which the author is associated (1958-59). The fundamental method is the highly valid, yet peculiarly Japanese, one of bio-historic study, concentrating in particular on the sub-leaders who stood between the topmost elite and the Japanese people during the Tokugawa and Meiji Periods of the mid- and late nineteenth century.

Kindaika is the Japanese word for modernization. The word suggests a result, evident in modern Japan; also a process, historically begun in the mid-nineteenth century and perhaps not yet entirely completed; and also an ideology, modernism, contrasted with the older, isolated outlook of centralized feudalism.

The significance of the result, the process, and the idea is apparent, even to those who have not specialized in Far Eastern affairs. What enabled Japan—a country small in size, notoriously poor in resources, and deliberately isolated from the rest of the world for three centuries—to emerge so suddenly as a modern nation-state?

Japan is perennially the object of such questions. In one generation, it is the "modernization," the "Europeanization" of Japan which draws attention; in another, it is the "democratization," the "Americanization" of Japan. And through it all, Japan seems surprisingly able to remain Japan.

Today, in a broader context, there are many Asian countries that remain mostly traditional in outlook, village-centered in economic and political organization, and agrarian in production—what Fred Riggs of Indiana University called Asian *Agraria*.[1] Others, like Japan, have achieved a dynamic outlook, an urban-centered political organization, and industrial production, in at least some sectors—what has been called *Industria* in the politico-economic sense. In almost all Asian countries the "urban," "industrial,"

"modern," "Western" exists alongside the "rural," "agrarian," "under-developed," "Eastern." The desire of almost all Asian states, most of them conscious of the Japanese achievement, is to enter the seeming promised land of modernization. This is the present-day significance of the historical case study of Japan's modernization.

The characteristics and peculiarities of Japan's modernization have frequently been studied, by both Japanese and Western scholars.[2] Where is the problem?

The author, as a Fulbright Research Professor, 1958-59, attached to Kyoto University, Japan, has had the good fortune of hearing Japanese scholars raise these same questions and search for answers. As a political scientist specializing on Japan, I am professionally interested in any and all clues to actual Japanese political behavior. I have long believed these are in origin rooted in the modernization process. In ten years of research I have been specifically interested in Japanese thinking about political economy, as a major clue to political behavior; this too inevitably takes one back to the modernization process. It has been my privilege to be affiliated with the inter-university, inter-disciplinary *Kindaika* Seminar, which meets every two weeks at Kyoto University, where my Japanese colleagues are looking to the very horizon of original scholarship, turning back to the beginnings of the modernization process.

They have returned to the moderniza-

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1 Fred W. Riggs, "Agraria and Industria; Toward a Typology of Comparative Administration," **Toward a Comparative Study of Public Administration**, Bloomington: 1957.

2 There is a voluminous literature in Japanese. For a hostorical treatment by a Westerner, see Hugh Borton, **Japan's Modern Century**, New York: 1955.

tion in Meiji (the Meiji Era is coincident with the rule of the first modern Emperor, 1868-1912; the modernization process undoubtedly began in the earlier Tokugawa Era), convinced that a fully satisfactory interpretation has not yet appeared. In their opinion this is due to these reasons:

1. Japanese scholars have until now occupied themselves mainly with one aspect of the process, usually the political history.

2. Japanese scholarship has often lacked objectivity, owing to the influence of prevailing ideologies. At one point it was the Emperor-centered historical point of view, at another, it was based entirely on the class struggle.

Western scholarship has made valuable contributions, especially when it introduced the Japanese to new techniques of analysis, such as those of social psychology and cultural anthropology. Nevertheless, Western scholars labor under handicaps too, our Japanese friends add:

3. " . . . Being foreigners, they cannot sufficiently understand the life and feeling of the Japanese and the structure of Japanese society. Western scholars cannot always be said to grasp the motivation and thought of the Japanese."[3]

There are other gaps, the existence of which is clearly reflected in the scope and method of the *Kindaika* seminar. Most Western studies and even some Japanese studies occupy themselves with either the Tokugawa Period, before Perry, or with the following Meiji Period. It has been a natural ethno-centric characteristic of Westerners to think of "modern" Japan as dating from Western contact. Japanese have always recognized the relationship between the two eras, yet there are almost no existing works that study it. Finally, in the Japanese bio-historic tradition, there are monumental biographies and materials on government leaders and leaders of the abortive democratic move-ment, but there are almost no studies available about the "sub-leaders," who were the genuine driving force in the modernization process.

The *Kindaika* seminar has not, of course, started from scratch. Its nucleus has been the skilled research personnel of the unique Institute for Humanistic Sciences of Kyoto University, a sort of Institute for Advanced Study of social science and humanities. Prominent have been Professor SAKATA, Yoshio (intellectual history) and his Meiji Restoration group.[4] Other scholars in the *Kindaika* seminar have been drawn from a wider range of disciplines and from various universities in the Kansai (Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe) region. They are, for the most part, members of the group that from 1952 to 1955 studied the history of Meiji thought and morality[5] under the direction of Professors SAKATA and KOSAKA, Masaaki (Dean of the Department of Education, Kyoto University; specialty: philosophy). By means of support from the Rockefeller Foundation, the seminar is beginning its second two-year term of study, under the direction of Dean KOSAKA.

The author is entering his sixth month of affiliation with the *Kindaika* seminar; a brief review of its activities during this period will illustrate the types of work it carries out.

In the first place, seminar members are collecting materials for a very specialized library. It is their conviction that such materials must be uncovered even at the local level, placed in the main stream of historical studies, and that this must be accomplished soon before it proves impossible to gather together such data. The books this writer has seen now run to about 400 items. They are classified according to their contributions to political history, education, thought, economics, practical affairs, and so forth; the

3 "A Prospectus for Research and Publication on the Characteristics and Peculiarities of the modernization of Japan," mimeographed (in English), 13 pp.

4 The results of their studies will soon be published under the title, Meiji ishin shi (A history of the Meiji Restoration).

5 The results of this study were published as Meiji bunka shi: shiso genron hen (A cultural history of the Meiji era (1868-1912): thought and public opinion); and . . . : dotoku hen (. . . : mortality); English-language editions are planned.

books are necessarily and overwhelmingly bio-historical in nature.

The procedure of the *Kindaika* seminar is more like that of a discussion group of the Council on Foreign Relations, in New York, than that of an orthodox academic seminar. Usually one scholar is responsible for the formal presentation at any one meeting (which lasts from about 2:30 until 6:00 p.m.). The person responsible prepares and has mimeographed for distribution an outline of the career of a sub-leader, or lives of a group. He then makes a rather formal presentation of his research and a vigorous discussion, from various points of view, follows. Participants range from graduate fellows through assistants to assistant professors and full professors. There are only two non-Japanese affiliated with the seminar, Professor Otis Cary (social and cultural history) of Doshisha University, in fact a resident since birth of Kyoto; and, this year, the present author.

Space does not permit a detailed accounting of the types of papers heard and therefore a few examples must suffice. On one occasion Professor SAKATA presented a table showing the characteristics of bureaucrats in the Ministry of Finance, in early Meiji. Data included family background, studies of foreign languages and travel abroad, if any, and step-by-step progress into the bureaucracy. More recently, co-director SAKATA similarly analyzed the careers of early diplomats like MUTSU, Munemitsu, HARA, Kei, and KATO, Komei. It was most intriguing to note the absence of real diplomatic work, in this early stage of development of the nation. Indeed, a major state function familiar to Western nations, diplomacy, was almost totally lacking in both Imperial China and isolated Tokugawa Japan, before emergence.

Professor MOTOYAMA, Yukihiko (social history, Kyoto University) used two sessions to analyze the role of the first modern academic administrators in Japan, and the evolution of some of the earliest universities. Here again, knowledge of foreign languages, practical techniques, and travel experience seemed to have been crucial.

Mr. DENDA, Isao (history of economic thought, Kyoto University) has made a careful study of the emergence of a bourgeoisie at the local level, in this case, in Shizuoka Prefecture. The interconnections between business, the early political societies, newspapers, public opinion, and economic thought were emphasized.

Professor UMETANI, Noboru (military history, Osaka University), traced the evolution of the study of modern military science among sub-leaders in the early *Hyobusho* (Ministry of Military Affairs). Professor MATSUMOTO, Sannosuke (political thought, Osaka City University) concentrated on the career, writings, and political thought of ONO, Azusa, on whom the writings of Bentham, Mill, and the other utilitarians exercised a strong influence.

Dr. HORIE, Yasuzo (economics, Kyoto University) through the biographical study of OSHIMA, Sozaemon, early Meiji businessman, has raised the whole question of the incidence of *the entrepreneurial spirit* in the modernization process, and its connection with political leadership.

As a final example, Mr. MINAMOTO, Ryoen (philosophy, Kyoto University) traced the emergence of modern nationalism among four sub-leaders in Aizu-han (a domain).

The value of the contribution is apparent, for both those who participate and, indirectly, for those of us in the West who must await the final outcome of the research. There is emerging from this *Kindaika* Seminar a detailed, composite biographical study of the Japanese sub-leader, who played such a vital role in the modernization process. In place of broad generalizations which have not satisfied either Japanese scholars or Western specialists—that the modernization was brought off by "a handful of leaders;" that initiative was taken by "the lower samurai;" that emergence was possible be-

cause of "the ability to imitate," and the "blind obedience of the people"—there begins to emerge a more vivid description, a deeper understanding of the structure and dynamics of Japanese society. Sub-leaders stood between the few well-known leaders and the Japanese people; they formed a strategic stratum of the population; and they had already achieved, in the previous Tokugawa period, a relatively high standard of knowledge, a surprising sense of national consciousness, and a vigorous spirit of enterprise. To pull off the same stunt, would not the sub-leaders of other Asian countries have to absorb a minimum of similar qualities?

The author is hardly in the position of expert critic of the seminar's method. He may, however, hazard one or two comments by way of comparison of the methods of these Japanese scholars and those of his American colleagues. So far the author has found the *Kindaika* Seminar typically Japanese in approach, that is, with a heavy emphasis on history, biography, and the descriptive method. This is certainly not a criticism, for no one knows better the need we all have for hard data, in place of generalized ideas.

Furthermore, it is the Seminar's plan to move, next Fall, from the composite biographical portrait to a consideration of the social dynamics involved in the modernization process. The analysis will be carried out on three levels: that of the leaders and their plans; that of the common people and their compliance; and that of the sub-leaders, their interpretation of the orders from above and of the reaction from below.

The author nevertheless finds himself speculating on the general framework for the present discussion. In methodological terms, he detects but has not had time fully to define, significant ideas about the following checkpoints in relating political behavior to the modernization process.

Crucial in the dynamics of the Japanese society has been the nature of the economy, and the limitations it has set on political experimentation.

Significant in the modernization process was the gradual evolution of a new elite, symbol of the transition from a feudal society of status to a modern society of contract; but the transition, though wide-ranging, was not complete. Intriguing are thoughts about new methods of gaining prestige and holding it, in the new, as contrasted with the old society: the knowledge of foreign languages, travel abroad, mastery of practical techniques, control of sources of opinion.

The field of education was important, both as a means for advancement and as a method of shifting ideological symbols.

The *ethos* of the Japanese people is a unique phenomenon and perhaps tells more about Japanese political behavior than do laws, pronouncements, and constitutions.

As to such speculation on models, it is perhaps best to let our Japanese colleagues teach us the basic data first of all. Americans, more analytically minded, can later profit immeasurably from the necessary spade-work. The author would like to conclude by saying that the *Kindaika* Seminar is also evidence, contrary to widespread impression, that there are Japanese academicians objectively at work and not freighted with pre-conceived, materialistic interpretations of history.

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1958-59

Is the Old Survey Order Passing?
(Part II)

The second of two articles by the head of a private survey organization, dealing with the contrasts between university research and the new private political research and summing up implications for the future.

The academic researcher in the political field always had inherent advantages over the old commercial pioneers who published for the newspapers. The university man could afford to take more time; he could undertake more experimentation with indexing, scaling, and other methodological approaches; he could afford the time to write books about his findings.

But with what to some were the seeming advantages also went these disadvantages: the academic researcher was prone to want to come up with sweeping generalizations about *all* political behavior, whether it was a 1500 probability cross section with reinterviews following the election for $100,000 or whether it was a 6-wave reinterview panel in Elmira, New York or Sandusky, Ohio; he would also feel it incumbent to come up with concepts that for the most part rather escaped recognition by the tried professional politician (such as the sharp distinction between the role of personalities and so-called high-type issues, or the notion that those least concerned were the pivotal voters in an election); and finally, he felt that he had to write for the most part in cathechistic prose, borrowed wholly out of sociology textbooks and not at all in the main stream of the empirical political research pattern set by V. O. Key, Alexander Heard, and others.

In short, the political sociologist too often seemed to be concerned about preserving his sociological frame of reference, damning the traditional political scientist, and dealing with a political process that those participating in did not recognize.

Methodologically, the academic voter researcher seemed to concentrate heavily on analyzing far less data much more intensively, and to draw much more sweeping conclusions from his work. He rebelled against the commercial researchers' static and squeezed-up, single-table fare, brought on controversy by attributing to probability sampling a new cure-all that somehow would forgive political naivete, and rather flaunted his $100,000 grants before hard pressed commercial poll-takers who had to sweat out the grind with even more hard-bitten newspaper editors and magazine publishers.

(The author should interject a personal note here and say at verying times in the past 12 years he has been engaged in all three of the broad categories he has been discussing: commercial newspaper, academic, and private political research. And in the process he has committed as many of the practices that now appear to warrant criticism in retrospect—proving, perhaps, what Professor Stauffer once called the "inevitable attrition of change in the social sciences upon one's most enthusiastic efforts!")

The odd thing is that the last people who finally got around to paying attention to voter research were the very ones to whom it could be most useful and valuable. After over 25 years of peripheral sponsorship, in 1956 and 1958 the logical, payoff consumers of political research have begun to pay heed to the art (and sometimes science). And as with almost all endeavor, the inevitable shift at least in quantities of research will inexorably be in the direction of more private research. This writer would estimate that by the time 1960 is over, perhaps as much as two to three million dollars will be spent on private political research. By 1964, if the present trend continues, as much as five millions might be spent in a Presidential year, about half that much in off years.

This raises some serious questions for

those engaged in all aspects of voter behavioral research and also makes inevitable some further adjustments in administrative policy, substance of what is to be covered, and the methodological advances that are being registered. Perhaps as important as any single aspect is that of obtaining adequate reporting of work and progress that is done.

Let us dwell for a moment on this aspect of public communication, of the development of sharing experience and of training new generations to participate in ongoing political research. In the old days of newspaper poll dominance, the researcher was perhaps too eager to report everything he knew in print. He even went to the ludicrous extreme of risking his reputation and that of the infant art or science he was attached to by making annual predictions of the winners. Not content with naming the winner, he went on to present exact percentages that the winner would get. Not content with this, in his heyday, he went so far as to predict with decimal point precision. The implications were pure magic. The revulsion after 1948 was nearly catastrophic.

The academic political researcher was going to correct it all by publishing weighty and considered tomes. But with an air of nostalgia for his predecessors who became bywords in the American culture, the academic political sociologist complained bitterly in private that none of the popular magazines would touch their stuff. To a degree, they felt the pangs of martyrdom, of reforming the old hat-trick artists, but not receiving adequate credit for it, other than a few accolades at Political Science Association meetings or from the ever-generous hand of the Foundations. But to be said seriously in behalf of academic research is that it was exposited fully and in volume, with methodology explained better than the old commercial operators ever did.

For the private political researcher, there are compounded problems. His client may not want the very existence of the survey ever to see the light of day.

He may be a bit sheepish of having depended on it to the degree that he does in private. He may feel that the studies have been so useful (and he paid for them) that he is patently unwilling to let any of his competitors share in his new-found understandings. The client might be a most serious stumbling block to any publication.

The private political researcher also has the problem of how to publish his materials. Unlike his predecessors in the newspaper or teaching-research worlds, he has designed his analyses for operational application in terms that the practicing politician can understand. It may be fascinating reading to find out that an incumbent Congressman is being caught up short for not attending his usual quota of wakes, but one would deal with this information differently if he were sitting down with a candidate two months before election day or writing a definitive analysis of voting behavior in the United States in 1960. The private researcher must of necessity (his head can roll in private after election day if he advised wrong as a result of his research) be exacting on the operational payoffs that he turns up—not in a generalized sense, and not necessarily for time into eternity, but for Candidate Jones in Gulchville for *this* election. So the private researcher will not make public (unless in his memoirs) his actual reports. He must go back to his cards and his data and put it back together again on a state-by-state, district-by-district kind of typological analysis to see what generalizations he might make about the state of voter behavior for any given period of time.

The question then arises as to what sources the private researcher might turn to seek financing of his reanalysis of his data so that all in the field might benefit from his rich experience. Should he turn over the data to universities and have them the true analysts of election survey data? Or should he seek out foundation support, which probably will not be forthcoming because the private researcher has made profits (presumably) while engaged

in his profession? Or should the private researcher take on a martyred stance and offer up his time and energies as a magnanimous gratis contribution toward the propagation of the art or science, and write a serious but communicable tome, emulating his academic brethren?

On the training level, a number of other equally serious questions arise. If private political researchers are going to have five or ten times the resources available to them for raw data collection and analysis, shouldn't there be some way that graduate students and even teaching faculty could share in this experience and contribute to the proper growth of the burgeoning field? And who is to say that practical-minded, politician-oriented private researchers are good teachers anyhow? By the same token, are we right in assuming that the new talent in political sociology is necessarily going to be acquired via the route of the universities, or is it possible that practicing younger and brighter politicians will turn to the discipline of research and learn a new trade without ever gracing the seminars of graduate training?

The most serious problem apart from communication and training is in the methodological advances that must of necessity be scored by the private researcher, if he is to survive the inevitable competition and is to grow in his own right. Here, oddly enough perhaps, the chances are great that new advances will be readily reported at public opinion research conferences, sociological meetings, and political science conferences. Another variation might be to have the new private political research organizations take on academic people who are on sabbaticals or to make some arrangement to have graduate students who want to develop original dissertation materials work with these organizations.

The fact is that the entire field of voter research is undergoing enormous change, and for those involved in the thick of it, it is exciting, challenging, but also perplexing in its implications and ramifications. One thing is certain: more discussion should be directed to it, especially to the ways in which the rich data can be made available to wider audiences. Or else the private researcher will begin to suffer much as his academic brother has, albeit doting on the accolades of knowing politicos and a selected few political reporters. But we progress by intercommunication, by sharing our common experiences. To the old-time newspaper poll-takers and to the still growing political empiricists from sociology and from political science, our whole field has developed a mode of reporting and interchange. This tradition must be continued and advanced. Perhaps future editions of *PROD* can point the way.

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(This is the second of two articles by Mr. Harris.)

Cross-Cultural Study of
Council-Manager Government

A note on the cross-cultural adaptability of municipal council-manager government, suggesting several avenues for research.

The idea of council-manager government has been transplanted to Canada and accepted in Continental Europe. It has also been "exported" to the Philippines, where the City Administrator type of professional local executive was recommended for her chartered cities. As this form of local administration spreads to new areas, the following problems should be considered: Will the manager plan fit into the pattern of a given people's culture and value systems? Are

they ready for this type of municipal organization? To what extent should they go in implementing it? Can they bear the burden of its cost?

We do not know the answers to these questions because present city manager literature falls short of theoretical concepts that might indicate which features of the system are to be avoided and which are to copied when installed at a cross-cultural level. Little or nothing is known about the forces operating to bear upon its adoption, the factors that influenced its installation in Canada and Europe, the features that will fit into a country's political practice and public frames of mind.

Bearing these problems in mind, it is suggested that the following propositions be tested in future studies and serve as a springboard for further research:

1. Ecology shapes the dynamics of municipal reorganization, and influences organizational forms.

2. Managerial local government, when installed cross-culturally, must be modified in the light of a country's political practices, public frames of mind, history, and values.

3. Culture conditions the adaptability of managerial local government.

It is assumed that existing forms of local government organization have become a part of a people's culture, and that change in any one part of that culture will be accompanied by changes in other parts. Moreover, municipal governments are not merely machines to be judged solely in terms of administrative efficiency. They are elective bodies with all the virtues and vices of a representative government, and they can be a major element in the democratic way of life. Finally, municipal organization is not only a formal structure but also a set of interacting human beings with all their emotions.

It is expected that results of studies bearing on these problems will have some value to countries interested in modernizing their municipal organizations. They will provide them with knowledge about the ecology of administration and bring them to realize that the relationship of manager government to its social setting cannot be ignored. Similarly, such knowledge will help local government consultants to under-developed countries to recognize that American success in city manager government will not necessarily obtain in nations of different social, economic, political, and cultural environments. Such studies will also be an important contribution to the literature of city management, and will give us new insights into the workings of managerial forms of government and into the political process under conditions of structural change. Finally, they may suggest avenues for further research in municipal development, administration, and problems, toward the goal of comprehensive knowledge of the universal and particular characteristics of local administration of all kinds.

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IN THE NEWS (*continued from p. 2*)

(Nat. Archives); *Political Behavior,* D. Truman (Columbia); *Political Theory and Legal Philosophy,* J. R. Pennock (Swarthmore).

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: The new NSF *Office of Social Science* is headed by Dr. H. W. Riecken, advised by a seven-man committee, inc. L. S. Cottrell, Fred Eggan, John Gardner, Pendleton Herring, Joseph Spengler, S. S. Wilks, Dael Wolfle. * * * *National Research Council's* Shapiro Committee will soon report on support of behavioral science by govt.

A Better Bibliographic Reference Method

It is ironic that social scientists admonish one another to integrate empirical studies into bodies of theory and to fill the gaps in their empirical knowledge at the same time that they take inadequate steps to facilitate the mechanical progress that must precede these creative tasks. This article suggests a punch-card system for establishing order in the bibliographical wilderness of the expanding social sciences.

One of the most serious and challenging problems in social science today is the fact that it has become unwieldy. The various disciplines produce a literature too vast for any single person to comprehend. A person cannot even keep abreast of developments within his own subject and specialty. His desire to know the contributions of his own discipline and of others to his specialty is nearly hopeless to fulfill. The person interested in a subfield such as public opinion is at a loss to keep up with pertinent developments in sociology, social psychology or economics.

The crux of this difficulty is, of course, time. It is the author's impression that much of this precious quantity is wasted in seeking out sources of information. In order to track down information on a subject a scholar must consult numerous volumes of abstracts, digests, subject catalogues, indices, guides, bibliographies, tables of contents, etc.

One approach to a solution of this mechanical problem of research is to develop new time-saving methods. The ideal in this respect is a bibliographic source that meets the following requirements:

1. It must be singular in nature, i.e., one reference guide should contain information on all publications within the social sciences.

2. It must be exhaustive as to source and content, i.e., all publishers of social science material must contribute to the reference guide on all relevant subjects.

3. It must permit cross-indexing, i.e., the system must be flexible enough to permit indexing a piece of information under all major subjects to which it is relevant.

4. It must be easy to use and inexpensive.

Present methods do not meet these requirements. There are too many bibliographic sources. Not one contains all the bibliographic information needed by any serious student. Cross-indexing is cumbersome, requiring separate entry under each subject of the reference guide. Though present guides are easy to use, they are time-consuming, expensive to produce, and the user is never sure that he has exhausted available sources.

In order to overcome the liabilities of the present method of bibliographic reference, the following method is suggested. It is felt that it incorporates the ideals stated above.

THE BASIC PLAN:

It is proposed that instead of the present method of publishing references and abstracts of publications in book form, they should be published on index cards, of the Keysort variety. (Cf. J. Tanenhaus *et al.*, "Keysort as a Tool for Political Research," *PROD*, I [May, 1958] 32-34.) For example, each time a social scientific book or journal is published an index card is also printed. This card contains specific information about the book or journal. For a book, it would contain information on author, publisher, date of publication, etc. It would also give an abstract of the book itself or a precis of each chapter. Other information on the book (such as bibliography, whether indexed, number of pages, etc.) might also be included.

The same would apply to an issue of a journal. An index card would be pub-

lished either for each article in the issue or for the complete issue or both; the card(s) would contain the title of the journal, date, volume, etc., and an abstract of each article. If an issue should concentrate on a particular subject, include a good bibliography and/or book reviews in a field, then the card would cite these facts.

The next step would be to systematize the index cards by the subject matter of the book or article indexed. These cards have a practical limit of 5000 classifications. The subject categories could be those which appear in any social science reference guide, e.g., the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.* The categorizing of each card by subjects referred to thereon is accomplished by use of the marginal, numbered holes on each card.

An example of how this would work is as follows: a book on public opinion and political parties in Japan is published. An index card is printed which contains an abstract and other pertinent information about the book. This card is categorized under a number of subjects such as public opinion, political parties, comparative government and Japan. The outside margin of each hole pertaining to these subjects is punched; the card is then sent to all interested libraries or parties where it is kept with all other index cards. By means discussed below, these cards could be separated out by subjects.

TECHNICAL ASPECTS:

Two technical problems are involved in this index card method. The first problem is how to categorize subjects on the cards by the use of the marginal holes. Except for three sets of three holes in the three squared corners, these holes are in numbered sets of four, viz., 7, 4, 2, 1. Each numbered set of four can be combined into ten numbers, viz., hole(s): 1, 2, 3 (1 plus 2), 4, 5 (1 plus 4), 6 (2 plus 4), 7, 8 (1 plus 7), 9 (2 plus 7), 10 (1 plus 2 plus 7).

Each one of these holes or hole combinations would be assigned a subject.

If the information pertaining to that hole (or combination of holes) is printed on a card, that hole (or combination) is punched. For identification purposes each set of four holes would be lettered. A subject therefore would be identified by letter, number, letter. The first letter pertains to a set of holes; the second letter to one of the nine letters in the three hole set; while the number corresponds to the hole or hole combination in the set. For example, let the subject of political parties be A 9 C; public opinion be C 9 A; comparative government be J 1 A; Japan be Q 7 G.

The second problem is separating cards on a particular subject from all other cards. The index card that has been categorized by subject is filed with other index cards in a library reference department. The cards with information on a particular subject could be obtained in two or three operations, depending on the number assigned the subject. First, thrust a rod through the number hole(s) pertaining to the subject and shake the punched cards loose. Then, thrust the rod through the letter hole of the cards obtained in the first step. For example, to obtain subject cards on comparative government (J 1 A) first thrust the rod through hole J 1 and shake off the cards. Then, line these cards up, thrust the rod through hole "A". The cards shaken out after this second step will all contain information on comparative government. If one were interested in separating out from these cards the cards on comparative government in Japan, one would separate the subject "Japan" in the same manner.

CONCLUSION:

The advantages of this method would include simplicity of use, standardization, and ease of cross-indexing. A further advantage is one that looks to the future. This method could be easily converted to an inevitable development in library cataloguing, involving the indexing of all library materials by IBM electrical-mechanical computers and devices. Some day, when finances permit, it will be

possible to push a button labelled "political theory—Hobbes" and receive in return a listing of all materials written by or about him.

Such systems, however, can only be established if they can gain the active academic and financial support of an influential body such as a professional organization or an educational foundation. Such support would be necessary to establish two essential pre-conditions for such systems. These would be a minimum of agreement among scholars in the social sciences on a system of categories into which their fields could be subdivided and under which they could be filed on this card index system, and the persuasion of publishers of books and journals in these fields to adopt the system and to publish such index cards with each book and/or article published in the fields.

Machines and a simple device for indexing such as those suggested herein should not be viewed as mechanical substitutions for man's mind. They are rather tools to assist scholars in the mechanical task of obtaining information sources that is antecedent to scholarly, creative work and that becomes an increasingly difficult task as information and knowledge in the fields of the social sciences multiplies.

Robert G. Gilpin, Jr.
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The Amphibial State

The Amphibial State is neither capitalistic nor socialistic, but a stable intermediate organization that extends to its citizens a full range of both political and economic liberties. The author both prescribes such a state and outlines research towards implementing it—and makes certain assumptions that our readers may wish to challenge.

The Amphibial State proposed here is a social theory of the Lasswellian variety, i.e., a theory that is normative in the classical sense of presenting alternative solutions to social "problems," and normative in the scientific sense of providing a conceptual framework for the identification of important social variables and examination of their interrelationships. Universality cannot be claimed for it.

The purpose of the author in offering it here is to secure comment from a wider circle of social theorists than is otherwise available to him.

The term "Amphibial State" appears to have been coined by Joseph Schumpeter in his Presidential address to the American Economic Association in 1948. His purpose was to distinguish a state which is neither capitalistic nor socialistic in its economic organization. In his terminology, Amphibial State would seem to characterize a state in transition between these two economic types. In our sense,

we mean a state that is not in transition, but contains elements of both capitalistic and socialistic economic organizations, plus the variations on those two themes. Our purpose is to outline such a state in terms that will indicate the advantages it might confer on the individual, advantages not to be had in any other form of organized state.

This concept of a state is born of the proposition that men seek to enjoy economic as well as political liberties. It derives also from the proposition that the denial of economic liberty to the individual is one of the causes of contemporary conflicts, both intranational and international. One result of this kind of analysis should be a demonstration that the denial of economic liberty is prejudical to the continued good order and "progress" of society. In other words, it is suggested that the Amphibial State offers solutions to many of the problems that have proved to be insurmountable within

the context of existing political organizations.

Some of the assumptions underlying this proposal are as follows: (1) the extension by states to their citizens of a full range of political liberties has, on the whole, proved valuable and productive; (2) economic liberties can and should be separated from political liberties (at least conceptually); (3) the disregard or denial of economic liberties tends to reduce the value of the exercise of political liberties; (4) the disregard or denial of economic liberties tends to produce intranational and international tensions in the form of mutual denial of the validity of separate and distinct forms of state economic organization (e.g., "Capitalism vs. Communism").

Essential to the proposed Amphibial State is a formulation of the concept of economic liberty. The properties of economic liberty are as follows: (1) economic liberty has to do with the individual; (2) economic liberty presupposes that the individual has a right to (a) select employment in that type of economic organization which accords with his preference as to the distribution of that organization's economic output; (b) select employment in that type of economic organization which accords with that individual's preference with regard to the ownership of the means of production; (c) select employment in that type of economic organization which, in the opinion of the individual, will permit him the widest possible scope for the development of his personal capabilities.

Clearly, a state may organize its productive forces in any way that it sees fit, limited only by the nature and stock of its natural and human resources. It is equally clear that a state may organize one segment of its economy on a capitalistic basis and another segment on a socialistic basis. It is not clear that pluralistic organization of the economy on different bases is more or less "efficient" in its utilization of natural resources than is the case with a monolithic economic organization of one type or another. It fol-

lows, therefore, that if the chief criterion is to be efficiency in the utilization of natural resources, the foregoing question must receive a definite answer; the importance of the answer to this question is limited by the fact that efficiency cannot be greatly reduced by the proposed economic organization, and might conceivably be enhanced. The answer to this question may be determined by empirical investigation. However, the criterion here is not efficiency in the utilization of productive resources, but, on the contrary, *the degree to which the individual's aspirations may be permitted realization by various types of economic organization.*

This criterion has the double value of enabling us to: (1) assess the factor of economic liberty as it affects the growth and capabilities of the individual; and (2) assess the degree to which intranational and international tensions can be ameliorated by the recognition and granting of individual economic liberty.

The political requirements of the Amphibial State appear to be of two kinds: (1) the individual shall enjoy the full range of political liberties; and (2) the individual shall enjoy the full range of economic liberties. Since only the state can bring about the types of economic organizations required to fulfill these conditions, the political constitution of the state cannot be separated from its economic constitution. It follows, therefore, that the two constitutions shall have to be treated as a unity.

Recognizing that various forms of capitalistic productive processes must be permitted to exist side by side with various forms of socialistic productive processes, the question arises as to the role of government in the organization of the socialistic forms of the productive processes. The essential differences are: (1) that the capitalistic process shall be based on private ownership of the means of production; and (2) that the socialistic organization shall be based on the common or public ownership of the means of production. Other distinctions follow from these two basic ones. The process of so-

14

cialistic production, including the necessary planning, may be carried on by organs of the people entirely separate from those dedicated to the traditional functions of government, and this type of decision is one of many that would be dictated by the broad social study necessary to the implementation of an Amphibial State.

Questions must be answered as to the relative power structures which are likely to come into existence under the proposed constitution of the Amphibial State. We cannot ignore the fact that the composition of these power structures is likely to influence and affect the maintenance of those liberties which are sought in the constitution of the state. It is also necessary to consider the system required to permit the individual citizen to validate or refuse to validate the decisions that are made within the power structures, which decisions critically affect the preservation of those rights which are sought. Such investigations, of course, are extremely pertinent to the democratic assumptions upon which the state rests.

Finally, the relationships between the economic complexes of the Amphibial State must be clearly mapped. Only such mapping will disclose tendencies, for example, for one complex to absorb or to impinge upon a different complex, thereby vitiating the construct. A corollary investigation should determine if there would exist a tendency toward the development of ideologies within each separate complex, the effect of which would be to fragment or even destroy the structure.

The propositions and questions here are by no means exhaustive of the list. The real question is how many of the questions, with which social (political) scientists concern themselves, can be contained within the theory.

Roy Hamilton
Department of Government
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THE COVER: A schematic map of Aristotle's city-state, transposed to Selinus, Sicily. The philosopher specified that his ideal city should occupy a site chosen with regard to public health, political convenience, and strategic requirements; walls were a practical necessity. Its people were to be intelligent and spirited, their number as small as consistent with independence and large enough for a good political life. Citizenship and land ownership were restricted to warriors, rulers and priests; landowners were to hold one plot near the city and one near the border. There were also to be two types of public land, one to provide for meals in common, the other to provide income for the temples and priests. Territory was to be sufficient to enable inhabitants to live temperately and liberally, yet was to be difficult of access to enemies and of easy egress for citizens.

Selinus, 75 miles SW of modern Palermo, was founded in the second half of the seventh century B.C., but did not fare so well as the city Aristotle later described (which presumably had no real counterpart). Selinus went through oligarchy to despotism, was engaged in boundary wars throughout its history, became involved in Carthage's wars, was sacked and razed on occasion, was rebuilt, declined, and finally in 250 B.C. its inhabitants were transported and it sank into the sands whence archeologists have reconstructed its nature.

This diagram was prepared by Melville Branch, Jr., and appeared in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, XXV (Feb. '59), p. 26.

PROD *and* *PRAVDA*:

This recent correspondence is dedicated to those scholars whose work has been honored by reviews in Soviet journals. The exchange is between the Director of the Bureau of International Book Exchange of the State Lenin Library of the USSR and the editor of *PROD*:

PUBLISHING HOUSE "PROD"
PRINCETON, U.S.A.

Dear Mister de Grazia,

The State Lenin Library of the USSR would like to establish with you an exchange of publications.

We are interested to receive your publication PROD beginning with 1959 and for our side we can propose you one of the following publications:

International Affairs, New Times, Soviet Union, in English.

Journal of the History of World Culture (summary), Questions of Economics, Questions of Philosophy, in Russian.

We ask you to reply if you were interested to establish the book exchange and what of our proposed publications you would like to receive from us. If you are interested in other publications which are not indicated in our list would be kind to write us.

You are asked to send your correspondence to the address: USSR. Moscow, Centre. Bureau of International Book Exchange of the State Lenin Library of the USSR.

Awaiting your reply.

Sincerely yours,
P. M. Bogachev, Director

Dear Mr. Bogachev:

Thank you for your kind offer to exchange one of your publications for our journal, *PROD*.

I regret that the nature of social science is misunderstood in the Soviet Union and that therefore no journal of use to us appears to exist. However, I believe in the principle "From each according to his ability, and to each according to his needs."

May I therefore make a suggestion? You might translate and publish a Russian edition of *PROD*. I would be glad to give you its contents free for this purpose. Furthermore I would avoid publishing any gratuitous remarks offensive to the Soviet Union.

Sincerely yours,
Alfred de Grazia

Suggestions re PROD:

From this side of the thought barrier is a letter from Robert Wood of MIT's political science program, author of *Suburbia*. He writes, in part,

let me enter a suggestion that the editor consider focusing a single issue on a major methodological or research problem every now and then so that a given issue can be explored in depth—or that alternatively, one or two major pieces take precedence over 10 or 11. I think these measures might help push all of us further along the road toward better research organization and techniques.

This good suggestion has been made by one or two other readers and has been

seriously considered. However, we see several drawbacks. Our subscriptions and correspondence suggest that *PROD's* readership is more diverse than its title might indicate. It is also less captive (and, we hope, more captivated) than the readership of the older journals in political science. There arises, then, the question of focus. An issue devoted to methods of studying public housing or local elites might lead to demands for too many specialized issues, cause a sporadic audience pulse, and invite in-and-out reader groups. We wish to please all of our "happy few" with each issue. We publish issues more frequently than most other journals, and hope ultimately to publish monthly. Specialized issues would also foreclose the prompt attention our authors may give to research that is closely attuned to public policy. The combination of specialized issues and lengthier articles would also tend to clash with the concept of *PROD* as a "high-brow service magazine," as one reader put it. (Another called it "Mad Magazine" for political scientists.) Our overseas readers find that *PROD's* brief articles match their "span of attention" in reading a foreign language. Many U.S.A. readers, plagued by busy-ness, like brevity. Also, social scientists often tend to verbosity; *PROD* helps the "battle against the expanding waistline." But we shall still watch this general situation.

Africa's New Political Leaders

Out of the author's 1957-58 field work in Africa a number of observations are made on Africa's emerging political elite, in the hope of stimulating research. The different Western experiences of African leadership, the greatly varying indigenous settings, the force of traditional patterns of culture and power, and the developing struggle for continental leadership are several important study themes.

Although increasing attention is being given to the study of political parties in certain areas of Africa, almost nothing is being done to illuminate the core of such organizations, their modern political leadership. Because of the monoparty trend that is becoming more and more apparent in the emerging independent states this question of leadership demands serious consideration. This is particularly true if the West is to understand the evolving African political process and is to place itself in a position to cope with the elites who are coming to the fore in a setting that is in many ways alien to their indigenous backgrounds.

The following observations are made on the basis of the author's research on the new urban elite class in Africa, made under a 1957-1958 Ford Foundation grant.

The African background is one of great diversity. African leaders of the present come from a variety of cultural environments. The ensuing complexity is difficult to unravel, yet it must be if we are to correctly evaluate a specific leadership group under study, and relate it to similar elites elsewhere in Africa.

There are also what may be termed "hangover" factors from original culture that still exert a measure of influence on the modern scene. How can you objectively measure and assess the strength of these factors? How valid are they in interpreting the actions and decisions of modern leaders, who are dealing with situations different from those encountered in the patterns of traditional society? Here the more visible aspects present no real obstacle. It is the covert aspects, those with psycho-social connotations that play upon the thinking and emotions of the new leadership that must grapple with modern day problems, that are most significant and require the most intense study. These concealed, internalized elements are extremely difficult to penetrate, sometimes even to discover, with the present tools and techniques of social science analysis.

Another question is that of Western enculturation. Although Europe and America have much in common, it is

undeniable that they differ significantly in ethos, attitudes, and philosophy. Present African leadership has had overseas training, education, and experience, mainly in Britain, France, and America, and this has made for problems of a political nature that even current African leaders have been unable to resolve satisfactorily. For example, Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana and Eastern Region Premier Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria are American-trained, and the basis of much of their action stems largely from this orientation, with its reduced stress on class and form. On the other hand, Western Region Nigerian Premier Obafemi Awolowo and government leader Dr. Margai of Sierra Leone function within the more conservative mold of British tradition. The nobility-bred, Moslem-reared Sardauna of Sokoto, Prime Minister of Northern Nigeria, operates largely within the patterns of an old-line, haughty, hereditary class shored up by the precepts of Koranic teaching. And the situation in France West Africa is just as complicated. Here Premier Sekou Toure of Guinea who is influenced by trade-unionism is frankly the opposite of Houphouet Boigny, strongly educated in French culture, who leads the Ivory Coast.

There is the matter of personality, which, as expected, adds to the confusion. The various temperaments of current leaders make it impossible at present to draw a picture in depth whose finer nuances reveal the inner personal drives that are basic motivating forces. Only a simple "profile" of leadership is possible.

Just as there are numerous personality types, so with political philosophies, which tend to clutter up attempts at analysis. Some, like Nkrumah of Ghana and certain French leaders, such as Abdoulaye Diallo (Guinean Minister to Ghana) and Ignatio Pinto (Minister of Justice in Dahomey), rule out classical parliamentary democracy with a strong official Opposition. Those of this inclination say that at this juncture of history the newly independent African nations cannot afford this kind of political luxury

but can retain democratic forms through allowing an opposition within their own official ruling government parties. On the other hand, those like John Karefa-Smart (Minister of Mines, Land and Labor in Sierra Leone) and Julius Nyrere (legislative leader and head of the major political force in his territory, the Tanganyika African National Union) believe that a loyal Opposition is fundamental even now.

Then there is tribalism, which is indeed a disturbing force. This involves the question of the rights of minority tribes in the new political structures. For minor tribal groups are at present poorly represented in leading political parties, and few members from minor tribes in given territories hold significant party or government posts. Viewed from another angle, tribalism itself may undergird a leadership structure which can topple and disrupt matters in any given election, as demonstrated by the Youlou-Opangault conflict in the Republic of the Congo, the Endeley-Foncha rivalry in the British Southern Cameroons, and Kasabuvu and his Abako Association in the Belgian Congo riots. It is obvious then, that more attention needs to be paid to the relationship of tribalism and ethnic groups to the political scene, and to the role of the leader within this context.

The Civil Service hierarchy is also the focus of a problem. African civil services are increasingly staffed by the few highly trained African professionals and technicians, the better educated people who are important to political development in the new and emerging autonomous states. Yet as civil servants they are in a restricted category, since regulations bar them from overt political activity. How modern leaders can make greater use of their services, which are badly needed on the political front, especially in the political education process, is important in the study of contemporary African leadership and politics.

Next there is the matter of power itself. Leadership implies some kind of power structure, and though the current

political leaders represent a governing elite, there is yet some question as to whether they constitute a power group of substance. At present their source of strength is in the emotional fervor of nationalism that they can stir up and manipulate in their unlettered mass following. But this is flimsy stuff on which to construct solid political power of lasting strength. Politics and economics are inseparable and where real power in politics prevails there is usually economic wealth undergirding it. Present African political leaders are on the whole men of little wealth and their parties are not supported by wealthy Africans. Instead, the leaders are dynamic personalities who have grasped the leading role at an opportune moment of history, and because of their superior education, knowledge, and experience they have been able to manipulate circumstances to their own advancement. Thus the question: Once the fervor of nationalism dies down and the realities of governing must be faced, how will power and control be maintained?

Then there are the customary jealousies one finds among all competing political leaders. What complicates matters here in Africa, however, is the larger world significance of the continent as a strategic goal for the West vis-à-vis Russia, of which current African leadership is well aware. And on another plane there is the continental jousting already taking place for supremacy between Nkrumah and Egypt's Nasser. This tourney is certain to become even more competitive as others join the fray, such as Tom Mboya of Kenya, Awolowo and Azikiwe of Nigeria, and Toure of Guinea, each of whom sees himself as the man on horseback destined to become leader of Africa.

One must also face the problem of traditional leadership in terms of its place in the current pattern. Today the old chieftains of indigenous culture have been relegated to the background, yet there is no doubt that some influence still emanates from this original structure. The association of modern and traditional leadership requires dissection to determine interlocking factors, as well as objective assessment to discover and evaluate the power role traditional rulers still play, and to find out how, where, and when this role is functional in the new scheme of things. For example, in Nigeria traditional chiefs are formally recognized in the new government framework of the Western and Northern regions, but not in the Eastern sector. Other new states, such as Ghana and the Sudan, likewise have made no special place for them. The reasons for this difference in emphasis in various states are very little known or understood. Yet this aspect of recent political development calls for deeper and broader insight into the ideas of the new leaderships, as well as other elements on the contemporary scene. For, as yet, traditional leadership is important to current leaders and has not and will not lose its significance in the African scheme of things for some time to come.

The problems outlined here are but a few of the many urgent questions relating to contemporary African leadership. They are set forth here simply in the hope that they will give some idea of the magnitude of the problems involved and help to provide some starting points for investigation.

Hugh H. Smythe
Brooklyn College

"With me, it is a matter of necessity—I cannot rest until I feel myself everywhere at the bottom—I cannot go on with what is *before* me, while I have anything behind me unexplored—I feel myself to have acquired to a considerable degree that pleasing and uncommunicable sensation.—Thus only can one hope to keep clear of those inconsistencies into which I see my predecessors (as far as I have predecessors) humble servants for the most part to authority and to one another, falling evermore. Forgive me, Sir, if I declare simply, and once for all, that till this great business is disposed of I feel myself unable to think of any other. The Will is here out of the question . . . In the track I am in, I march up with alacrity and hope: in any other I should crawl on with despondency and reluctance."
Jeremy Bentham to his father, October, 1772, concerning his work on the *Elements of Critical Jurisprudence.*

A "Constitution" for Professional Associations

This piece was not secretly microfilmed from the confidential files of a professional association, but is a tongue-in-cheek attempt to reconcile preaching and practice in the external and internal rules of professional organizations. If a constitution carried prescriptions based on all the important behaviors of the group, it might read like this.

PREAMBLE

Whereas, the practice of X is a complex art requiring multi-fold skills, extraordinary judgment, and the confidence of the public, and

Whereas, the true practitioners of X desire to protect the public from the false practitioners of X, and

Whereas, the true practitioners of X desire to form a close association for the widest dissemination among themselves of information about the newest methods, techniques, and practices of X and its related economic activities, and,

Whereas, the great public trust in the practice of X requires ethical and responsible behavior by the true practitioners of X, and

Whereas, it is of vital interest to the public that the practice of X and its related economic and social activities be constantly improved,

NOW, THEREFORE,

Be It Resolved That, a professional association is hereby formed to be composed of practitioners of X who meet the standards and qualifications in the constitution hereinafter set forth.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF PRACTITIONERS OF X

I. MEMBERSHIP

A. Any person now engaged in the practice of X, upon payment of the fees and dues hereinafter set forth, and upon subscription to and swearing of the solemn oath hereinafter set forth, shall be a member.

B. All persons who have satisfactorily completed a course of instruction in a professional school certified by the Association and who successfully meet the standards embodied in competitive examinations drawn by the Association or by its authorized agents, public or private, and after payment of an initiation fee, and first payment of dues, shall be admitted to membership in the Association. Such membership shall terminate upon failure to pay such dues and assessments as may from time to time be stipulated.

C. There shall be no discrimination on the basis of race or religion, and membership in the Association shall be open to all qualified persons. But committees setting policies for admission to professional schools, and members of the Association acting as Admission officers in professional schools, and all other members concerned with the selection of potential new members shall keep in mind the high order of professional, social, and financial skill required by practitioners of X. Whatever it is in the power of a member to do to maintain the dignity of the practice of X shall be done, including establishment from time to time of quota systems in professional schools, manipulation of passing grades for certifying examinations, and stiffening of curricula to maintain a favorable market. Any such activity will be officially denied from time to time by the President of the Association.

II. PREROGATIVES

A. All members of the Association will be called PROFESSIONAL PRACTITIONERS of X. No other persons will be permitted to use this designation. As rapidly as possible, State legislatures shall be induced to limit the use of this term to members of the Association.

B. Each member of the Association will be furnished, at reasonable cost, an

ornate document setting forth his membership in the association. The language used in this document shall be Latin dialect, with words not known among the Romans. This document will be suitable for framing, and will be displayed in the office of each member. There will be an elaborate seal on this document.

C. An official insignia shall be adopted by the Association. Facsimiles of this insignia may be purchased from the Association or its authorized agents, in the form of rings, brooches, stickers, tie clasps, and metallic license plate emblems. Only members of the Association shall be permitted to display these insignia. The insignia shall be derived from an obscure Greek myth, and contain symbols of horror.

D. Metallic signs shall be distributed to members at reasonable cost for display outside their offices. Only members of the Association shall display these signs.

E. As soon as practicable, the legislatures of the various States shall pass appropriate legislation making it illegal for non-members of the Association to display any official sign or insignia of the Association.

III. Government of The Association

A. Local

1. Membership in the National Association shall derive from payment of dues, fees, and related schedules, and from membership in a subservient organization called the (insert local name here) Society of Practitioners of X.

2. Insofar as local policies do not conflict with polices promulgated by the National Association, the local society is free to further its own interests.

3. Officers of local societies shall be elected democratically from among those whose professional practice permits them time to deal with the political aspects of the affairs of their colleagues.

4. There will be the usual officers in each of the local societies. The Treasurer must be acceptable to the National Association, and the books of the local society shall from time to time be inspected by the National Association.

5. Each local society shall establish a Grievance Committee. The function of the Grievance Committee shall be to give a judicious air to the handling of complaints from citizens about the practices of members of the Association. Under extreme duress, violations of ethical practice shall require the Grievance Committee to issue reprimands to the offending member. Only in cases where the violation achieves notoriety is the Grievance Committee to refer the matter to the local society as a whole. Any violation shall be considered sufficient cause for suspension of membership when the offense is discussed on the front page, or the editorial page, of a significant local newspaper.

B. National

1. The Constitution limits the tenure in power of any elected officer of the corporation to a reasonable time. No officer may succeed himself more than once.

2. Election of officers shall be conducted democratically.

3. A slate of officers shall be nominated by a committee of officers of local societies appointed by the officers of the Association.

4. There will be only one officer officially nominated for each position by the Nominating Committee, and other nominations shall be required to pass close and intense scrutiny before admission to the ballot. Official candidates for office shall appear on the ballot in the first position for each office, and the names shall be in bold-face type, accompanied by the announcement that the candidate is officially endorsed. All other candidates' names shall appear in light-face type. Learned articles by official candidates shall be carried in the official journal of the Association in the issues immediately prior to the election. No other candidates shall have space in the journal during the campaign.

5. A staff shall be appointed by the officers first elected, and shall be expanded from time to time as the need

for more paper work is felt. There shall be no limit on the tenure of any staff member employed by the Association. Officers shall consult with staff members before official pronouncements are made. In cases of dispute, the decision of staff members shall be final.

6. There will be an annual meeting of delegates from the local societies for the purpose of endorsing the policies of the Association and electing officers. The agenda for the meeting shall be drawn by the staff members so that the policies of the Association shall be endorsed.

7. In the event opposition develops at the annual endorsement convention to any policy of the Association, a study group will be commissioned at once, and the policy shall be referred to this group for further study, without vote. While the policy is under study, it shall remain the policy of the Association. Study groups shall be thorough, painstaking, and unhurried, and shall not render reports until staff members consider endorsement to be timely.

8. Criticism of the Association shall be admitted from the floor of the House of Delegates at the annual convention. Such criticisms shall be directed at policies, not personalities, and study groups shall be commissioned to survey such criticism and remove the matter from the floor.

9. From time to time polls of members shall be conducted by the Association. Such polls shall show an overwhelming, but not unanimous, endorsement of the policies of the Association by the members. Opposition shall not be permitted to exceed 20% of the membership. The results of the polls shall be made available to all critics of the Association.

10. The Association shall never move officially against a member. Facilities of the Association may be withheld from recalcitrant members, and members may employ unofficial boycotts. To the public, the member shall be praised by the Association. No member shall ever be criticized by the Association under any circumstance, except privately.

11. An information service shall be established by the Association in order to maintain favorable relations with the public, clients, potential clients, and members.

a. Constant vigilance shall be exercised to prevent the appearance of any material in books, newspapers, magazines, films, and radio or television broadcasts that might reflect unfavorably upon the profession or the members of the Association. To answer such material of a critical nature that does appear, standard forms of emphatic denials, including a questioning of the motives of the source of criticism, shall be maintained for immediate press-release.

b. The Director of Public Relations shall screen all official pronouncements of the organization, and shall be held accountable for the promulgation of the policies of the Association.

c. Steps shall be taken to instruct the public that all practitioners of X not members of the Association are unworthy of public recognition, are not professional, and are attempting to bilk the public.

d. The public shall be persuaded that the practitioners of X are hard-pressed, underpaid, and essential to society. It must be clear that, whereas a given member of the Association may not be infallible, he is a person of exceptionally good judgment. At all times the Practice of X shall be represented as the most vital function of modern society, and all public statements shall identify the public interest with the practice of X.

e. Although the members must devote to public relations the largest budget in the Association, the Public Relations Department shall be represented as modestly budgeted and its expenditures shall be accounted for under other headings in annual statements.

IV. RELATIONS WITH THE STATE

A. As soon as practicable, the Association shall transfer to the state, through legislation, the obligation to police the granting of licenses for the practice of X. In no case is the As-

sociation to exercise this function except as a public duty and with apparent reluctance.

B. A vigorous and well-financed lobby will be maintained in all State and national legislative assemblies, directed solely to the benefit of the members and of the Association. In general, the object of such lobbying shall be to maintain the *status quo*, unless it is feasible to promote regression.

C. All other activities that will promote a special status for members of the Association shall be pursued vigorously, particularly matters of tax exemptions, professional expense accounting, and privileges above and beyond those of an ordinary citizen.

D. Officials and candidates for public office who support the policies of the Association shall be supported. Those opposed to the Association shall be opposed. Others shall be ignored.

V. RELATIONS AMONG THE MEMBERS AND WITH CLIENTS

A. No member shall ever speak disparagingly of another member, or act so as to cast doubt upon his professional competence. When two members find themselves in conflict over the handling of a single client, each shall assure the client of the sound professional standing and views of the other.

B. Fee collection shall be relentless, but always by a person other than the member—although such persons may be employed by the member. In no case, unless forced by the client, shall a member speak of fees in connection with his services.

C. All members shall speak of the profession in terms of sacrifice to the public welfare. If this embarrasses them, they shall keep silent.

D. It shall be unethical to pirate another member's client except in subtle ways.

E. Some piece of complex and expensive equipment shall be displayed unostentatiously in the office of every member.

F. All members are enjoined to appear harried, nervous, patient, and professional. No member shall ever shout at a client, appear eager to perform services for the client, or in any way suggest that he needs the business.

G. No matter how simple the service the client requires, each member is enjoined to endow it with mystery.

H. Insofar as possible each client shall be assured that his is a distinct and unique problem, requiring the utmost skill of the practitioner. Each client must realize that he was wise to have consulted a professional practitioner of X.

I. At all times, members shall urge clients and potential clients to seek the services of the member *before* they need it. Prevention of difficulty by early consultation shall be urged upon the public by the Association.

J. It is understood that fee schedules in various areas shall be arranged among practitioners of X, and that such fee schedules shall represent minimums.

K. Any encroachment upon the practice of X by members of other professions, or by the public, shall be repelled. As discoveries, closely or remotely connected with the practice of X, are made, they shall be adopted as new prerogatives of the practice of X.

L. All members on admission to the Association shall swear the following oath, which shall be forever binding upon the individual:

> I (State your name) do hereby and hereon most solemnly swear and affirm, declare and declaim that I shall do my duty to God, country and practice of X, and that I shall abide by the rules and covenants of the Association, and that I shall hold myself ever in readiness to practice X for the public good, and that I shall respect and love all other practitioners of X, and that I shall strive ever to improve the practice of X, and the standing of my fellow practitioners. So help me, God.

Donald Hoffman

Modern Knowledge and the Control of Man

A brief report by the chairman of a fortieth anniversary New School for Social Research conference on the subject of social science and social control.

The Conference on the social sciences and their impact on society, "Modern Knowledge and the Control of Man," held at the New School on February 27-28, was an event of some significance. It was the first conference of its kind, and the questions raised and the discussions that ensued were of such a calibre that they are bound to influence future developments in the field.

The four panels were chaired respectively by Joseph J. Greenbaum, August Heckscher, Saul K. Padover, and Ernest van den Haag.

Only a few of the highlights can be mentioned here.

Economist Abba Lerner from Michigan State, argued that economic problems and controls are, in the last analysis, *political.* They lie within the realm of political leaders and policy makers.

It was my viewpoint that a true political science must await the development of a psychological science.

Dr. Jerome S. Bruner, chairman, department of social relations at Harvard, pointed out that a certain amount of control over man is already scientifically possible, but that the whole problem must be view sociologically.

Dr. Robert Bierstedt, chairman, department of sociology, City College, granted that sociology knows much about human behavior, but has neither enough knowledge nor wisdom to be entrusted with the control of man.

Well-known practitioners of public relations agreed that men are now being directly influenced by business and other institutions, but insisted that it was for the good of society, since human beings are basically irrational and need to be led. This viewpoint was vigorously protested by members of the audience.

Government, foundations and educational institutions are spending comparatively huge sums on the social sciences, including attitude studies, and the professional training of social scientists (some 23,000 doing graduate work annually). Harold Lasswell, Daniel Lerner and Bernard Berelson addressed themselves to possible resulting shifts in controls of science. Are all these millions of dollars justified? Will a newly risen corps of "social engineers" endanger the society by the systematic manipulation of the public mind? These questions were raised—and the perils involved pointed out.

The temporary conclusions were: (a) Social science has not yet reached the point where it could exercise control over man, and (b) it can have no meaning or utility in a democracy unless it operates on an ethical basis and for clear moral goals.

Note: Negotiations are actively in progress for publication of the papers presented at the conference together with the ensuing discussions in book form and magazine articles.

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The Human Relations Area Files

The HRAF material is available in duplicate form at 16 university libraries and consists of scientific material on human relations, reproduced, organized in 707 categories, and filed. This article, a description of the files' organization and uses, originally appeared in somewhat lengthier form in the American Library Association's journal, College and Research Libraries, XIX *(March, 1958),* 111-117.

The Human Relations Area Files (hereafter referred to as HRAF) seem to represent a unique compromise between the old-fashioned research library and the latest mechanized developments. In the following description and explanation of the HRAF, it should be noted that the mechanical equipment is simple, and that there is provision for flexibility, insertion, and growth. At the same time, there is a great saving for the librarian in space, processing, and operating costs, and a great saving for the scholar in time and energy required to retrieve basic data.

Headquarters of the HRAF are in New Haven, Connecticut. From there, complete sets of duplicate materials are distributed to the several government agencies and sixteen member universities, which are especially interested in subjects pertaining to human relations. These universities include Cornell, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Yale in the East; North Carolina, in the South; Chicago, Iowa, and Indiana, in the Midwest; Oklahoma, in the Southwest; Colorado and Utah, in the West; and Southern California and Washington, on the Pacific Coast. The University of Hawaii is also a member.

The HRAF is a research tool. It is a new kind of library for use primarily by social researchers. In this library the material has all been analyzed in detail and shelved, not volume by volume, but page by page; reproductions of the same page reappearing in as many places as necessary if it mentions a diversity of topics. The approach to the material is not through a card catalog, but through two guidebooks. One lists the main classifica-

tions—countries, cultures, peoples, or societies—and the other lists and defines the subject headings that utilize the terminology painstakingly developed to serve the needs of researchers in human relations. Designed to supply factual data to social scientists, it has been used primarily by students of anthropology, sociology, political science, conservation, psychology, and history. But as it develops by the addition of substantial amounts of material, it becomes increasingly useful to others as well. While still very incomplete, it has been used by representatives of at least twenty-seven different disciplines to date.

Established "to collect, organize, and distribute information of significance to the natural and social sciences and the humanities,"[1] this library "consists of actual reproductions of scholarly and scientific material so processed, organized, and filed that it gives the student of humanity easy and rapid access to the significant information known"[2] concerning his topics in specific cultures. It has also been described as "a repository for human knowledge that gathers these materials into one easily accessible place, translated, analyzed, coded, and compactly organized."[3]

EXAMPLE OF USE

The best way to make clear the use of these files seems to be first to give an example: Professor George Peter Murdock, an established anthropologist, was asked to prepare an article on "Family Stability in Non-European Cultures." He decided his best procedure would be to analyze data on marriage and divorce from eight countries in Asia, eight in Africa, and a

1 Guide to the Use of the Files, p. 4.
2 Human Relations Area Files. Function and Scope. [p. 5.]
3 H.R.A.F., p. 8.

like number in Oceania, North America, and South America. First, he used the handbook listing the societies which have already been included in the still incomplete HRAF (*Outline of World Cultures*). Needless to say, he drew upon his own background in making his selection in such a way that it would represent a balanced sample for his purposes. After selecting the societies he wished to cover, he then turned to the other handbook (*Outline of Cultural Materials*) which lists and defines "categories" (corresponding to librarians' subject headings), and noted the code numbers of those pertinent to his subject.

The materials he needed were filed geographically, by name of country or ethnic group, and there broken down by categories, so that very little time was required to pull from the files the packets of 5 x 8 slips pertaining to his subject, although they may have represented data from several hundred sources. In twelve hours of actual working time, his study was completed; not a superficial job, but one that the editor to whom it was submitted considered a "real contribution," which may be confirmed by referral to the article itself in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCLXXII (1950), 195-201.

Professor Murdock figured that without the labor-saving aid of the HRAF, three or four weeks of intensive research would have been required, whereas with this aid, his research time was cut by 95 per cent. He does not claim that this is a typical example, but thinks probably about an 80 per cent saving of time is more nearly average. He points out that these files enable the users to devote their "research time to concentrated creativeness, free of the routine drudgery of traditional scholarship."[4] In this way, they make a positive contribution to the advancement of research.

While there are many projects for which these files are not appropriate, they have been used in such diversified ways as the following:

By a student of drama who was interested in the function of drama in the life cycle of primitive people; by a writer who needed background information for a novel about an island in the Pacific; by a botanist preparing a bibliography on the flora of Oceania; by an anthropologist preparing a cross-cultural study of the structure and function of kinship groups; and by a psychologist interested in testing hypotheses about the relation of child training practices to various aspects of adult culture. They have also been used in the preparation of guides and handbooks on peoples and cultures throughout the world and by personnel from governmental and other agencies who needed background information on particular societies.[5]

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Any one of the sixteen universities having membership in HRAF now has over twenty-seven drawer-filing cabinets, each drawer containing two rows of 5 x 8 slips. All the books, articles, and manuscript materials processed for these files, if not written in English, have been translated into English. It is possible to consult the complete book or article, reproduced on 5 x 8 file slips, filed consecutively, with the pages in straight numerical order, preceded by a bibliographical slip giving, in addition to all customary bibliographical data, an annotation on the coverage and nature of the complete work. However, the principal utility of the system derives from the topical categories numbering some 700 in which the data on each society are placed.

Before coming to the files the researcher wishing to use them will have decided upon the problem he wishes to study, the approach he intends to use, the size and distribution of his sample or comparable considerations. In the HRAF

4 G. P. Murdock. Feasibility and Implementation of Comparative Community Research. With Special Reference to the Human Relations Area Files. In **American Sociological Review**, XV (1950), 720.
5 **Guide to the Use of the Files**, p. 6-7.

room he will consult the *Outline of World Cultures,* to identify the areas or ethnic groups he intends to include. He will then proceed to the Outline of World Cultures Index File, which will indicate the availability of processed material on the cultures he wishes to study. The next step is to search the *Outline of Cultural Materials* for the categories, or subject headings, pertinent to his topic. In using this volume, he will note the definitions of the categories, to make sure they apply to what he has in mind, and will also check additional categories to which they are cross-referenced as well as adjacent categories which may also be relevant to his subject. In this connection, it might be noted that there are now 707 categories, and that new material is constantly being added to the files.

The scholar is then ready to withdraw from the files those packets of file slips pertinent to his study. They may not be removed from the room, but the room is provided with work tables and rather generous space for typing or other notetaking by several people at a time.

It should not make any difference to our scholar which of the sixteen member universities is giving him this opportunity. All have equally complete files. However, some are more competent than others at keeping them up to date and providing convenient and comfortable working quarters.

All the file slips have been prepared at HRAF headquarters, according to the following steps:

1. Selection of source materials for inclusion is made by research associates (subject specialists), who also designate the heading under which the complete text will be placed.
2. The publication is xerographed; i.e., each page is reproduced photographically on a mat from which it can be printed on 5 x 8 slips.
3. An analyst (subject specialist) reads and codes the mats. This coding is checked by another analyst, then returned to the first for reconciliation

of points on which there may be disagreement.
4. The bibliographical slip and cross-reference slips are prepared.
5. Mats are then used to print, on 5 x 8 file slips, sufficient copies so that there will be one to go with the complete text, and one for each category coded, for each of the member institutions.
6. The slips are collated and sorted.
7. They are shipped to the member institutions, and filed uniformly by code numbers (categories).[6]

Each member university has a set of instructions for operating the files, and receives supplementary instructions as innovations are developed at headquarters. There is no option as to the system by which the material should be filed. However, local practices differ as to who may use the files. Some are restricted to graduate students and faculty members, others are open also to undergraduates and to outsiders.

LIMITATIONS

Perhaps chief among the limitations of the system is that its effectiveness is limited to factual data. It does not lend itself well to theoretical material.

Secondly, a question might be raised as to whether a real scholar is willing to trust others with the manipulation of the data on which his work is based. However, since no abstracting is done, and since the researcher may always refer to the complete text, right on the premises, if he ever suspects that the coding has not been done to his full satisfaction, this criticism seems invalid so long as the selection and analysis done at headquarters is competent.

Incompleteness of coverage may be most detrimental, especially when the would-be user finds that materials on some of the cultures he wishes to study have not yet been processed. With increased financial support and time, these untouched areas may be substantially reduced. In certain types of studies, however, it may be desirable for the researcher to cover not

6 Ibid, p. 7.

only the background material, but also the most recent publications concerning his subject. In determining whether the HRAF material is sufficiently up-to-date for this purpose, or whether he will have to seek recent material elsewhere, the researcher can readily ascertain dates of both field work and publication of processed material on his subject by consulting the pertinent bibliographic slips.

Of course, the HRAF is not, and can never be, complete. No matter how fast and how hard their staff works to approach this objective, there will always be new discoveries, new relationships, new publications, to invalidate any claim of absolute completeness, except that which is limited to a specific subtopic as of a specific date.

HISTORY

The initial step was the development of the Cross-Cultural Survey at the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University, beginning in 1937. The system of abstracting used originally has now been abandoned by the HRAF, which evolved from the Cross-Cultural Survey, but the system developed there for classifying the cultural, behavioral, and background information of societies led directly to the topical classification in the *Outline of Cultural Materials*, the backbone of the HRAF system.

The original set-up existed only at Yale University. During World War II, several governmental offices sought its cooperation in studies of Latin American and of Pacific cultures. Later, the Yale organization cooperated with the University of Nebraska to apply the *Outline of Cultural Materials* to information on ten Indian tribes, producing identical files for both universities. Subsequently, the present organization was developed, with the aid of the Social Science Research Council and the Carnegie Corporation. In 1949, the HRAF was incorporated as a non-profit agency. Since then, a number of projects have been undertaken for Federal agencies. Remuneration under these contracts has facilitated recent enlargement of the files,

as have grants from the National Science Foundation, Ford Foundation, Wenner-Gren Foundation, Rubicon Foundation and Carnegie Foundation.

PLANS AND OBJECTIVES

Until lately, the amount of material in the files was very limited, and the use made of the files confined almost entirely to anthropologists, for which reasons the directors avoided what they considered premature publicity, not wishing to attract people to the files who would be disappointed in them. Now that they have wider coverage and have been used productively by a number of disciplines, they are beginning to seek wider publicity, desiring acceptance in libraries as a basic tool for inter-disciplinary research. Among their plans is one to issue a microfilm edition, which will probably be available on a yearly subscription basis.

The HRAF is also publishing a series of bibliographies, of country surveys, and of behavior science monographs, outlines, reprints, and translations. These publications may be purchased individually, by anyone. Many are apt to be found on the tables in the HRAF rooms of member institutions.

Future developments are likely to be influenced by contracts and grants. For example, the interest of the Federal Government is reflected in the recent material on the "hot spots" of the Middle East. However, if not too much of their financial backing has strings attached which would pull them from their course, it may be anticipated that the HRAF will gradually approach their ultimate objective, which is to make available all the significant facts about an adequate sample of the world's societies, both historic and contemporary.

CONCLUSION

Consideration should surely be given to the claim made by HRAF that this is "a major research tool of far greater depth and scope than any single scholarly resource created by an individual university."

It may also be desirable to give further thought to this method of organizing materials, in view of its possible application to other fields. Note that, unlike some of the recent technological developments, it requires no investment for mechanical, photographic, or electronic devices and consequent expert servicing at the member institutions. Moreover, it really works, and its usefulness is constantly being increased.

It is certainly a good example of current efforts to develop means of retrieving information with maximum coverage of pertinent sources and minimum expenditure of time, energy, and money on the part of the scholars using the material as well as the administration providing it.

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Annotated BIBLIOGRAPHY on Policy Research and Political Behavior

(Selection based upon a search of 155 journals published or received in this country since the preceding issue of PROD, *books recently published, and government documents and fugitive materials recently published.)*

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BAUER P. T., "International Economic Development." *Econ. J.,* LXIX (Mar. '59), 105-23. Finds Gunnar Myrdal's three recent books on international economic development a comprehensive treatment of present influential ideas, but lacking in new insights. Useful summary of Myrdal's points of view.

BIRCH, A. H. *Small-Town Politics: A Study of Political Life in Glossop.* New York: Oxford, 1959.

BLAKE, R. R., "Psychology and the Crisis of Statesmanship." *Amer. Psych.,* XIV (Feb. '59), 87-94. "The outcome of the crisis of our times may well rest on whether or not statesmen can design situations for the resolution of intergroup disputes which are sound."

BOULDING, K. E. *The Skills of the Economist.* Cleveland: Howard Allen, 1958. Six lectures on scope and method, primarily for the non-economist. Outlines and evaluates Keynesian macro- and Marshallian micro-economics, discusses political economy, considers the interdisciplinary value of economic concepts, and the value and uses of economic science in society at large.

BRAYBROOKE, D., "The Relevance of Norms to Political Description." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.,* LII (Dec. '58), 989-1006. Suggests the desirability of specific normative models, noting that concepts of "function" and "success" have strong normative connections.

BROWN, T. M., "Some Recent Econometric Developments." *Canad. J. of Econ. & Pol. Sci.,* XXV (Feb. '59), 23-33. Historical background, concepts, purposes, and present developments in econometrics, with particular attention to the uses of electronic computers.

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CONOVER, H. F. *Guide to Bibliographic Tools for Research in Foreign Affairs.* (2nd ed.) Government document LC2.2:F76/7/958. Washington: Library of Congress, 1958.

CRESSY, D. R., "The Nature and Effectiveness of Correctional Techniques." *Law & Contemp. Prob.,* XXIII (Autumn '58), 754-71. Identifies two conceptions of correctional techniques, discusses problems of measuring their effectiveness and problems of defining "correctional techniques."

DAILEY, C. A., "Graph Theory in the Analysis of Personal Documents." *Human Relations,* XII (#1, '59), 65-74. The mathematical theory of graphs, applied to permit quantitative analysis of contents of any narrative account of human behavior such as case histories, biographies, anthropological studies, diplomatic papers.

DEAN, J. P., & W. F. WHYTE, " 'How Do You Know If the Informant is Telling the Truth?' "

Human Organization, XVII (Summer '58), 34-38. The question is unanswerable and should be replaced by the query: "What do the informant's statements reveal about his feelings and perceptions and what inferences can be made from them about the actual environment or events he has experienced?"

DERGE, D. R., Metropolitan and Outstate Alignments in Illinois and Missouri Legislative Delegations." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LII (Dec. '58), 1051-65. Finds alignment between urban and non-urban delegates that undermines the traditional belief in urban-rural conflict. Other conflicts are more likely.

DEXTER, L. A., "Conventional Death or Unconventional Survival," reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, Feb. 17, 1959, p. A1154. Argues that the U. S. has no military policy as such, but a number of "military doctrines," which are not formulated in Congress.

DIAMANT, A., "Is There a Non-Western Political Process? Comments on Lucian W. Pye's 'The Non-Western Political Process'." *J. of Pol.*, XXI (Feb. '59), 122-27. Pye's "non-Western" model applies to many Western political situations.

DION, L., "Political Ideology as a Tool of Functional Analysis in Socio-Political Dynamics: An Hypothesis." *Canad J. of Econ. & Pol. Sci.*, XXV (Feb. '59), 47-59. Political ideology is a more or less integrated system of values and norms, rooted in society, which is projected on the political plane to promote individual and group aspirations and ideals.

ETZIONI, A., "Kulturkampf or Coalition: The Case of Israel." *Sociologia Religiosa*, No. 4. Political and sociological conditions associated with alternative courses of action facing religious parties in Israel.

FENSTERWALD, B. JR., "The Anatomy of American 'Isolationism' and Expansionism. II." *Conflict Resolution*, II (Dec. '58), 280-309. Psychological factors underlying American attitudes toward foreign policy problems, with the development of a questionnaire on international and domestic attitudes, finding nationalism roughly related to the authoritarian ideology.

FRANKEL, J., "Towards a Decision-Making Model in Foreign Policy." *Pol. Studies*, VII (Feb. '59), 1-11. Centers on the relations between decision-makers and their environments, after H. Sprout's thesis.

GANS, H. J., "The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning." *J. of Amer. Inst. of Planners*, XXV (Feb. '59), 15-25. The redeveloper and his future tenants often benefit much more than site inhabitants, who involuntarily pay monetary and non-monetary costs. Based on West End Boston study.

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HACKER, A., "Political Behaviour and Political Behavior." *Pol. Studies*, VII (Feb. '59), 32-40. A review of Butler's *The Study of Political Behaviour* that quickly devolves into an analysis of the causes of American superiority over British scholars in studies of political behavior.

HALL, M., & C. WINSTEN, "The Ambiguous Notion of Efficiency." *Econ. J.*, LXIX (Mar. '59), 71-86. A technical treatment of the difficulties of the concept "efficiency" even for the economist.

HARTMANN, H., "Managers and Entrepreneurs: A Useful Distinction?" *Admin. Sci. Q.*, III (Mar. '59), 429-51. It is, if entrepreneurship is redefined in terms of formal authority, using Weber's concept of the entrepreneur as the source of all formal organizational authority. Decision making, functional role, and charismatic qualities are also analyzed.

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HOWATT, G., "Australia Elects Senate by P. R." *Nat'l. Civic R.*, XLVIII (Mar. '59), 144-48.

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HYNEMAN, C. S., "The Collection and Uses of Political Data." *Citizenship Clearing House Bull.*, VII (Mar. '59), 2-3. Comments on Indiana U.'s collecting of raw data on election returns, legislative action, and politicians' personal histories.

JACKMAN, N. R., "Survival in the Concentration Camp." *Human Organization*, XVII (Summer '58), 23-26. The importance of group identification as a basic factor in the physical and psychological survival of the individual: if the individual's reference group was also a membership group within camp, his chances of physical and psychological survival were maximized; if the individual's reference group was outside the camp but closely integrated, his chances of psychological survival were maximized—until death.

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KEYFITZ, N., "The Interlocking of Social and Economic Factors in Asian Development." *Canad. J. of Econ. & Pol. Sci.*, XXV (Feb. '59), 34-46. Notes a necessity for anthropological and economic data to be combined in understanding non-Western development.

KOEHL, R., "Toward an SS Typology: Social Engineers." *Amer. J. of Econ. & Soc.*, XVIII (Jan. '59), 113-26. The character of the Nazi SS phenomena, men who "became instruments of destruction while maintaining a sense of innocence," and a discussion of the neurotic core-type.

KRISLOV, S., "Constituency Versus Constitutionalism: The Desegregation Issue and Tensions and Aspirations of Southern Attorneys General." *Midwest J. of Pol. Sci.*, III (Feb. '59), 75-92. In desegregation Southern attorneys general have been noticeable for what they have not done as much as for their accomplishments. Rather, they largely follow the maxim "Vox populi vox Dei."

LANE, F. C., "Economic Consequences of Organized Violence." *J. of Econ. Hist.*, XVIII (Dec. '58), 401-17. Considering government as the primary organization for providing the service of protection (also noting the use of violence by other organizations), one of the broadest of American historians observes the transformation of force into economic behaviors.

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LEYS, W. A. R., and C. M. PERRY, "Philosophy and the Public Interest" (paper). Committee to Advance Original Work in Philosophy, Mar. '59. Survey of the many formal and substantive meanings that have been attached to the concept of the "public interest."

LIPSET, S. M., & R. BENDIX. *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley: U. of Calif. Press, 1959. Comparative study with detailed analysis of U. S.

McDOUGAL, M. S., & H. D. LASSWELL, "The Identification and Appraisal of Diverse Systems of Public Order." *Amer. J. of Int'l. Law*, LIII (Jan. '59), 1-29. By "systems of public order" is meant both national and supranational laws and agreements which are pungently analyzed in Lasswellian categories, "toward a universal order of human dignity."

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much."

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MEYNAUD, J., & A. LANCELOT, "Groupes de Pression et Politique du Logement. Essai d'Analyse Monographique." *Revue Fran. de Sci. Pol.*, VIII (Dec. '58), 821-61. Tactics of French pressure groups concerned with housing.

MOORSTEEN, R., "Economic Prospects for Communist China." *World Pol.*, XI (Jan. '59), 192-220. Rapid growth in heavy industry and agriculture is following the Soviet pattern of the '20's, and shows signs of ultimate success.

MOUZON, O. T. *International Resources and National Policy*. New York: Harper, 1959. A geography text well-suited to be the policy scientist's companion. Deals with atomic energy, geopolitical theory and security factors as well as with mineral resources, agriculture, etc.

OVERSTREET, G. D., & M. WINDMILLER, *Communism in India*. Berkeley: U. of Calif. Press, 1959. Structure, policy and practice of the party in India analyzed in terms of historical and contemporary developments in India and in international Communism.

PRESS, C., "Voting Statistics and Presidential Coattails." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LII (Dec. '58), 1041-50. Finds both that Congressional races follow nation-wide patterns, and that (in some circumstances) candidates' campaigning is a key factor.

PRICE, W. C., "Report on Current Research in Schools of Journalism." *Journalism Q.*, XXXVI (Winter '59), 104-13. Lists 278 research projects (staff and thesis) from 57 academic institutions, in 26 categories of research.

RAMSEY, C. E., R. A. POLSON, & G. E. SPENCER, "Values and the Adoption of Practices." *Rural Soc.*, XXIV (Mar. '59), 35-47. Twelve value orientations (security, achievement, science, etc.) were tested for their relationship to scales of adoption of two agricultural practices, with five low positive and two low negative relationships found.

RAPOPORT, A., "Various Meanings of 'Theory'." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LII (Dec. '58), 972-88. The role of theory and its various meanings: in the exact sciences, in the behavioral sciences (two meanings), in the normative sense (*political* theory), and in game theory.

RAWSON, D. W., "Politics and 'Responsibility' in Australian Trade Unions." *Australian J. of Pol. & Hist.*, IV (Nov. '58), 224-43. The Australian labour movement has become a battleground for Catholicism and Communism, and is inevitably and extensively involved in Australian politics.

REDMOUNT, R. S., "Psychological Views in Jurisprudential Theories." *U. of Penna. Law R.*, CVII (Feb. '59), 472-513. Comments on the legal theories of certain psychologists and the psychological theories of certain jurisprudents, and offers a set of hypotheses about the psychological dependence of the individual on his environment.

RHYNE, E. H., "Political Parties and Decision Making in Three Southern Counties." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LII (Dec. '58), 1091-1107. Evaluates the theory that party competition is the life-blood of democracy: "A competitive electoral process *may* contribute to democratic practices in decision making, but it is no assurance that it *will*."

SCHELLING, T. C., "The Strategy of Conflict: Prospectus for a Reorientation of Game Theory." *Conflict Resolution*, II (Sept. '58), 203-264. An extension of game theory to yield insight where conflict is mixed with mutual dependence as in war and war threats, maneuvering in a bureaucracy, etc. Novel, strikingly relevant to political behavior theory.

SCHILLER, A. A., "Jurists' Law." *Columbia Law R.*, LVIII (Dec. '58), 1226-38. The development of jurists' law—law created by expert persons through opinion and precedent—in the Roman classical era.

SCHMIDHAUSER, J. R., "The Justices of the Supreme Court: A Collective Portrait." *Midwest J. of Pol. Sci.*, III (Feb. '59), 1-57. Collective treatment of Court membership (since 1789) to determine basic recruitment factors and "the place of the Court in American politics and society." Extensive bibliography.

SCHUBERT, G. A., "The Study of Judicial Decision-Making as an Aspect of Political Behavior." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LII (Dec. '58), 1007-25. Discuss means and techniques: bloc analysis of split decisions, scalogram analysis, content analysis, game analysis. Proposes hypotheses and areas for study.

SCHWARTZ, M. L., & J. C. N. PAUL, "Foreign Communist Propaganda in the Mails: A Report on Some Problems of Federal Censorship." *U. of Penna. Law R.*, CVII (Mar. '59), 621-66. Post Office practice rests on uneasy or non-existent legal bases, and is often quite inconsistent: public review of the problem and legislative courses of action are suggested.

SELIGMAN, L. G., "A Prefatory Study of Leadership Selection in Oregon." *Western Pol. Q.*, XII (Mar. '59, Part I), 153-67. A small sample study of State legislators (by interview). Parties and factions played little part in selection; socio-political networks were most important.

SIEBERT, F. S., "Professional Secrecy and the Journalist." *Journalism Q.*, XXXVI (Winter '59), 3-11. Summarizes existing legislation protecting the journalist from compulsion to reveal his

sources, and argues extension of the principle.

"La Signification Humaine des Sciences Sociales aux Etats-Unis." *Esprit*, XXVII (Jan. '59),
Issue contains, among others, articles by Daniel Lerner on European tradition, Harry Alpert
on Organization and Financing, Harold Lasswell on Research Strategy, Max Millikan on
Social Science and Political Action, and Edward Shils on Ethics of Research.

SILBERT, A., "Panorama Géopolitique des 'Afriques'." *Politique Etrangére*, XXIII (#6, 1958),
628-41. A set of "conclusions" concerning centripetal and centrifugal forces in African nation-
alism, research on a *modus vivendi*, the role of whites, economic development, etc.

SILVERA, V., "Passé de l'Union Francaise et Avenir de la Communauté." *Revue Juridique et Pol.
de Union Fran.*, XII (Oct.-Dec. '58). Political factors both within and without the French
union from 1946 that led to its passing in 1958.

SOMIT, A., *et al.*, "The Effect of the Introductory Political Science Course on Student Attitudes
toward Personal Political Participation." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LII (Dec. '58), 1129-32. At the
beginning of courses typical student attitudes were close to indifference; they were much the
same at the conclusion.

SRINIVAS, M. N., "The Dominant Caste in Rampura." *Amer. Anthro.*, LXI (Feb. '59), 1-16,
There are various elements in dominance, which are often distributed among castes. In effect,
a comparative study of elites.

STANDING, W. H., & J. A. ROBINSON, "Inter-Party Competition and Primary Contesting: The
Case of Indiana." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LII (Dec. '58), 1066-77. Refines the concepts of safe
and competitive electoral districts and replicates "some propositions relating inter-party com-
petition to the number of contestants in primary elections in Indiana."

STOCKING, G. W., "Institutional Factors in Economic Thinking." *Amer. Econ. R.*, XLIX (Mar.
'59), 1-21. From the impact of 17th century administrative controls over economic activity
on Adam Smith's writing, to the influence of corporation success on current economic thought.

STOLL, G. E., "Gebete in publizistischer Umgestaltung." *Publizistik* (Bremen), III (Nov.-Dec.
'58), 337-52. Through the ages prayers and hymns have been rewritten to carry propaganda
messages during religious and political crises.

THOMPSON, K. W., "National Security in a Nuclear Age." *Social Research*, XXV (Winter '58),
439-48. Analysis of the international crisis; Soviet and Western security systems, and nuclear
strategy and arms control are discussed, with policy impiications.

VALEN, H., "Factional Activities and Nominations in Political Parties." *Acta Sociologica*, III
(#4), 183-99. Propositions drawn from Norwegian political practices in answer to the
question, How do parties maintain political and ideological unity and still allow divergencies
among members?

WEBB, L. C., ed. *Legal Personality and Political Pluralism*. N. Y.: Cambridge U. Press, 1959.
Relationship, over past 50 years of trends in doctrine of legal personality and the political
structure of the community.

WHITE, C. M., *et al. Sources of Information in the Social Sciences: An Annotated Bibliography.*
N. Y.: Columbia U. Bookstore, Columbia U., 1959.

WILLIAMS, T. R., "The Evolution of a Human Nature." *Philos. of Sci.*, XXVI (Jan. '59), 1-13.
Recounts several anthropological definitions of human nature, considers data suggesting a
revised empirical definition, and asks whether human nature is the product of evolutionary
processes.

ET AL.: On Writers and Editors

Russell Lynes [author of *High Brow, Low Brow, Middle Brow*] wrote us that the "correct version" of Lyne's law is: "No author dislikes to be edited as much as he dislikes not to be published." Mr. Lynes also said that he has "only one corollary" to the law: "Every good journalist has a novel in him—which is a good place for it."

This reminded us that in the December, 1958, *Harper's* are some previously unpublished pieces by Mark Twain, one of which is a complaint brought on by a flood of amateur manuscripts sent to him for "honest criticism." . . .

"I am sure that this affront is offered to no trade but ours. A person untrained to shoemaking does not offer his services as a shoemaker to the foreman of a shop —not even the crudest literary aspirant would be so unintelligent as to do that. He would see the humor of it; he would see the impertinence of it; he would recognize as the most commonplace of

facts that an apprenticeship is necessary in order to qualify a person to be tinner, bricklayer, stone-mason, printer, horse-doctor, butcher, brakeman, car conductor, midwife—and any and every other occupation whereby a human being acquires bread and fame. But when it comes to doing literature, his wisdoms vanish all of a sudden and he thinks he finds himself now in the presence of a profession which requires no apprenticeship, no experience, no training—nothing whatever but conscious talent and a lion's courage."

If Mark Twain had been alive to read it, we are sure he would have laughed out loud at Stefan Zweig's account of Honoré de Balzac's training as a writer, in Zweig's wonderful life of the self-made nobleman (published by Viking). . . .

"Correcting proofs was not an easy business so far as Balzac was concerned. It involved not merely the elimination of printers' errors and slight emendations of style or content, but the complete rewriting and recasting of the original manuscript. In fact, he regarded the first printed proofs as a preliminary draft, and to no task did he devote more passionate energy than to the gradual shaping of his plastic prose in a sequence of proof-sheets which he scrutinized and altered time after time with a keen sense of artistic responsibility. . . .

"Everything he had written on the previous day, and the day before that, was bad. The meaning was obscure, the syntax confused, the style defective, the sequence clumsy. It must all be changed and made clearer, simpler, less unwieldy. . . . A saber thrust with his quill and a sentence was torn from its context and flung to the right, a single word was speared and hurled to the left, whole paragraphs were wrenched out and others plugged in. The normal symbols used as directions to the compositor no longer sufficed, and Balzac had to employ symbols of his own invention. Before long there was not enough room in the margins for further corrections, which now contained more matter than the printed text. The marginal corrections themselves were scored with symbols drawing the compositor's attention to supplementary afterthoughts, until what had once been a desert of white space with an oasis of text in the middle was covered with a spider's web of intersecting lines, and he had to turn the sheet over to continue his corrections on the back. Yet even that was not enough. When there was no more space for the symbols and criss-cross lines by which the unhappy compositor was to find his way about, Balzac had recourse to his scissors. Unwanted passages were removed bodily and fresh paper pasted over the gap. The beginning of a section would be stuck in the middle and a new beginning written, the whole text was dug up and raked over, and this chaotic mess of printed text, interpolated corrections and alterations, symbols, lines, and blots went back to the printer in an incomparably more illegible and unintelligible state than the original manuscript. . . .

"When Balzac received the second set of galleys, he flung himself upon them with the same rage as before. Once more he would tear apart the whole laboriously constructed edifice, bestrewing each sheet from top to bottom with further emendations and blots, until it was no less involved and illegible than its predecessor. And this would happen six or seven times, except that in the later proofs he no longer broke up whole paragraphs but merely altered individual sentences and ultimately confined himself to the substitution of single words. In the case of some of his books Balzac recorrected the proof-sheets as many as fifteen or sixteen times, and this alone gives us a faint idea of his extraordinary productivity. In twenty years he not only wrote his seventy-four novels, his short stories, and his sketches, but he rewrote them again and again before they finally appeared in print." . . .

First Things First in Methodology

(AN EDITORIAL)

The aborigine who sports a top hat while stirring a witching brew is laughable. But so is the primitive in the social sciences who caps himself with some odd or end of advanced technique.

Perhaps it is factor analysis or calculus, laboriously learned late in life. Or it may be a set of courses in scaling, testing, and questionnaire construction. Or it may be "methods of group observation," or "model-building," or the construction of index numbers, perhaps even game theory, econometrics, or sociometry. All of these are intended to bring, and certainly contribute something to, proficiency in the "new political science." Therefore, all too often, the ambitious, if callow, scholar leaps for the "new methodology."

Two troubles ensue. Political data do not and cannot lend themselves easily, and rarely lend themselves completely, to management by the new techniques. Also, more fundamental and more generally useful skills are left to chance attainment. Yet the major faults of political research, writing, and teaching begin with failures in the older and more universal methodology of social science.

In the first place, all students of government should be able to understand and use the concepts of epistemology and semantics. The meaning of meaning is a crucial question in the critique of world history; it is also important in the coining of questions in a political poll.

A great many more young sophisticates have read a text on statistical methods than have read Cohen and Nagel's *Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method*. Yet logic has a larger place in our science than statistics. For instance, the ability to translate from one classification system to another and to build new classifications is an essential skill. Often a classification can be statistically executed, but the statistics themselves are an evolution from logic.

Another vital area of political methodology is the choice of subjects to study and the creation of hypotheses about them. Here many behavioral scholars are weakest. They would be hard put to explain why they would choose to study one rather than another of any pair of subjects taken at random from the infinite population. By the same token, many political scientists and their students rely upon no explicit means of evaluating the relevance of data or of determining whether they are important or applicable in the context of a proposition. Nor can they form and mold hypotheses as tools of inquiry. They cannot even draft propositions of the "true-false" type (which are a better test of the examiner than of the person being tested).

Still other misfortunes come from our neglect of orderliness and style. If book publishers were not so polite or mercenary, they would boycott social scientists. Most publications read as if people were to be forced to read them (partly true), or to read them not at all (also true).

Surely there must be a department or college so bold as to insist upon its students acquiring these fundamental tools of political thought and research. We need a deep inquiry into the methodological aspirations, failures, and needs of political study, if we are to raise a superior new generation of experts on government. The study must begin at the beginning, must be idealistic, must go down into the grammar school and high school, where the social studies, no less than the natural studies, begin. Unless we appreciate how innocently savage are the minds of our adult graduate students in political science, we will continue to expect something great of them if they will "take a course or two in statistics." If we *do* appreciate their predicament, we can lay a solid methodological foundation for political science that will formally introduce the old techniques to the new, and unite them wholesomely.

POLITICAL

RESEARCH:

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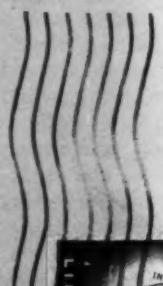scholars.

Put new theories before the
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other disciplines to the
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